1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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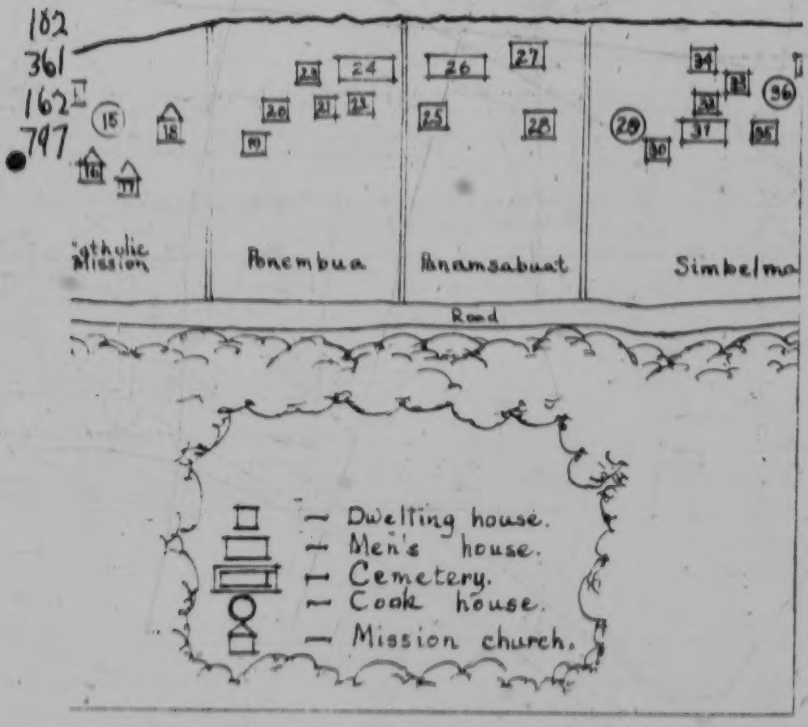
1. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
2. Dwelling—man and wife, 5 children (4 males, 1 female).
3. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
4. Men's house.
5. Men's house.
6. Small dwelling unoccupied.
7. Cook-house.
8. Dwelling—old widow, living alone.
9. Dwelling—widower, living alone (house more decorated with carving than any other house in the village).
10. Dwelling—widower, living alone.
11. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
12. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
13. Dwelling—man and wife.
14. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
15. Cook-house.
16. Mission church.
17. Mission house.
18. House where the Catholic missionary stops when he is in the village.
19. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (males).
20. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
21. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).

[p. 32(A)]



In reality the hamlets are separated from each other by bush, a fence, or

22. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
23. Dwelling—man and wife.
24. Men's house.
25. Empty dwelling.
26. Men's house.
27. Dwelling—widow and 1 child (male).
28. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (female).
29. Cook-house.
30. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
31. Men's house.
32. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
33. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
34. Old deserted dwelling.
35. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (female).
36. Cook-house.
37. Dwelling—man and wife.
38. House, where native boy trained at Government hospital, is supposed to take care of the sick.
39. Dwelling—one man and two wives.
40. Dwelling, widow.
41. Cook-house.
42. Dwelling—man and wife.

[p. 32 (B)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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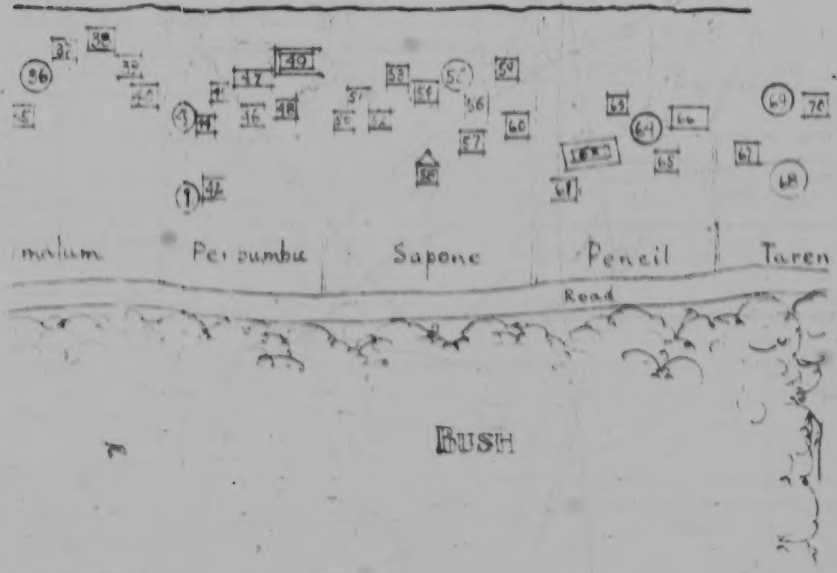

PLAN OF VILLAGE SHOWING DIVISION INTO HAMLETS

or sometimes to nothing at all. Everyone knows where one hamlet begins and the

44. Cookhouse.
45. Dwelling—widow.
45. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
46. Old deserted dwelling.
47. Man's house.
48. Dwelling—widower.
49. Cemetery.
50. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
51. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (females).
52. Dwelling—man and wife.
53. Dwelling—one man (bachelor, brother to man in dwelling 56).
54. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
55. Cookhouse.
56. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (3 males, 1 female, one of them adopted).
57. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
58. Mission church (Methodist).
59. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (2 males, 2 females).
60. Dwelling—man and 2 wives, 1 child (female).
61. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
62. Cemetery.
63. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female, adopted).

[p. 32(c)]

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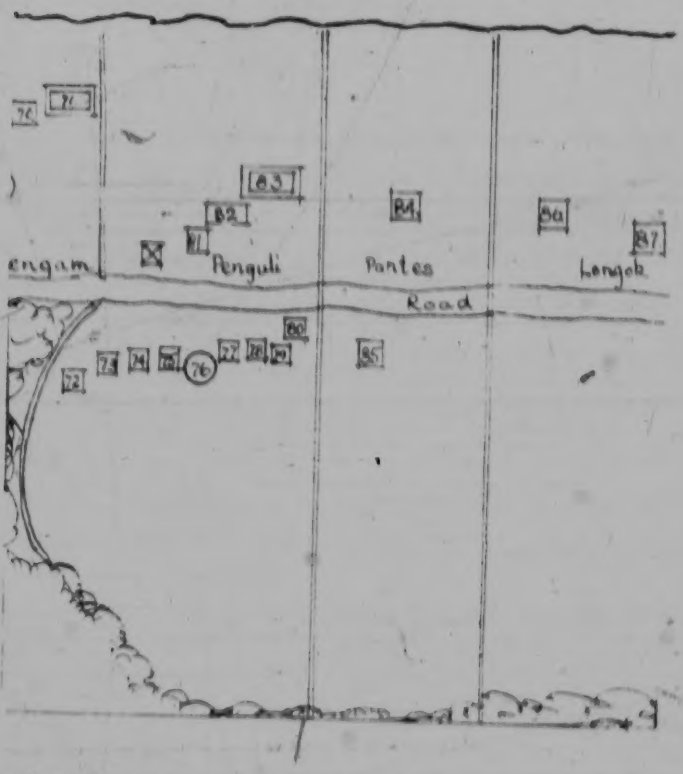

other ends. The corresponding numbers describe the occupants of ho

64. Cook-house.
65. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
66. Men's house.
67. Dwelling—man and wife, 5 children (males).
68. Cook-house.
69. Cook-house.
70. Dwelling—man and wife.
71. Cemetery.
72. Old deserted house.
73. Dwelling—old widower.
74. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
75. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
76. Cook-house.
77. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (2 males, 2 females).
78. Dwelling—widower and son.
79. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
80. Dwelling—man and wife.
81. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
82. Men's house.
83. Cemetery.
84. Old deserted dwelling.
85. Dwelling—man and wife.

[p. 32 (D)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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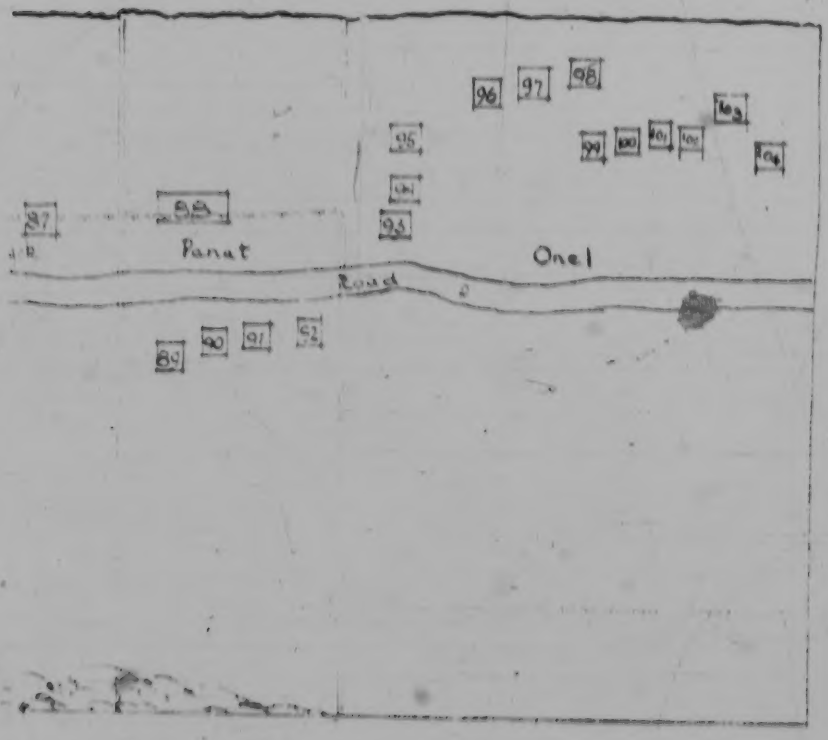

of houses.

86. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
87. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (1 male, 2 females).
88. Men's house.
89. Dwelling—old widow, her daughter, a young widow, and her young son.
90. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
91. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
92. Dwelling—man and wife.
93. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
94. Dwelling—man and 2 wives, 2 children (males, one by each wife).
95. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (3 males, 1 female).
96. Dwelling—man and wife.
97. Dwelling—widow, 3 children (1 male, 2 females).
98. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
99. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
100. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
101. Dwelling—man and wife.
102. Dwelling—man and wife.

☒ The house in which I lived is marked with an X, and is in the hamlet of Penguli.

[p. 32(E)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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881 778 Early in the morning, on the day of the rites, the *kolamuth* is sounded at Ponatlege. The men go into the enclosure and look at the unpainted *malanggans* which have been placed in the little grass house. In about fifteen minutes they emerge into the open compound. This is just the preliminary appearance of the *malanggan*, because the boys are coming out of the enclosure to-day.[1]

In the open compound the men and women sit in their separate groups, chatting. There is a general air of expectancy. Soon singing is heard in the distance. It comes closer. The women get up and go inside the open cook-house, and most of the men go inside the enclosure, although a few remain outside in the compound. The eight boys, accompanied by twenty men (from Tagam), advance into the compound in block formation of five lines, singing. This is called the *Bumän* dance. The hair of the boys is painted red, and each one carries a bundle of baked taro and a piece of pig's entrails wrapped in leaves. They halt and stop singing. Takou, the father of two of the boys and the maker of one of the *malaggans* to be displayed, then steps out and speaks. "All of you have come because of these boys. Now this *Bumän* rite is done in Ponatlege. My mother knew this *Bumän* in Penguli where she lived. To-day the *Bumän* is done in Ponatlege. Suppose my mother had not known the *Bumän*, then I, Takou, could not know it. I talk to all you men and to all you women. I have talked enough. Suppose you have a big man; he will talk much more to you. But I am a little boy.[2] All of you, all the men, all the women, all the Luluai (chiefs), all of us have come here for this little *malanggan*. That's all. Suppose it is big *malanggan* rite, then there would be a big speech. But Ponatlege is a new place,

[535] [302] [397]

[1] When they come out they will go to the Mission school. In the past they would have stayed within the enclosure until the finished *malanggans* were displayed. Now when they come out the unpainted *malanggans* are shown.

[2] The speaker is a large, adult man, but the custom is to belittle oneself.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

cement leaves, coconut, taro, and so on for four layers. The outer leaves are then wrapped around it to make a bundle, which is tied with vine and baked in the *liga*. All the preparations for the cooking of the *beta*, except the scraping of the taro, is done by the men. It is eaten by both sexes and much enjoyed.

In the past snakes were also eaten. They were killed by beating them on the head and then cut up, wrapped in leaves, and baked in the *liga*, and were considered good food. To-day, however, it would be considered dangerous to eat a snake, because of the part it played in the Garden of Eden story, as told by the missionaries. In some vague and unexplainable way the snake is now considered a taboo food, even among unmissionized natives. They may not have accepted any of the Christian morals or tenets, or even know much about them, but the snake story they take seriously, and it is the snake which stands out as a prominent part of the Fall of Man.

Other Cooking

There is only one leaf, *mutil*, resembling a spinach leaf, which is cooked. Recently some of those who have worked on a plantation have brought home with them a saucepan, and the leaf is boiled, together with the milk of the coconut and the shredded coconut. In the past it was wrapped in other leaves and baked in the *liga*.

Unripe bananas are buried in the sand for a week. They are left on the stalk and laid in a trench-like hole on the sandy beach and then covered over with sand. The result is a very soft squashy banana, preferred by natives to the raw one. It is prepared in this way for a feast, but on ordinary occasions the raw banana is eaten.

Pawpaws are usually eaten raw, although they are sometimes baked in the *liga*. Other fruits are eaten raw.

In the past these natives were cannibals, but they ate only

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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the *tinuato* wanders around near the place of death and makes its presence known by a low whistle. Although it has no malignant qualities, it is regarded with great fear.

There is no belief in life after death (except for the ghost), in rewards or punishments, or in any deity. It is interesting to observe that for the missionised native it is the *tinuato* which goes to hell, and it is this also which has become the Christian soul.

These people, until very recently, were cannibals. All the adults of the community in which I lived had been cannibals before the white government stopped the practice. But it was only the bodies of enemies killed in warfare which were eaten, and never the body of a friend, relative, or member of the same village. As far as could be ascertained, there was no theory of imbibing the strength of the enemy warrior. It was merely another meat dish in a diet which was mostly vegetable.[4]

Cremation rather than burial was formerly practised, but as far as could be learned there has been no change in the rites. In the past the body was burned and the bones buried. The cemeteries existed then just as they do to-day—each hamlet with its own. In the rites to-day cremation is simply omitted and the whole body is buried instead of just the bones, as in the past.[5]

The following description, covering the three chronological periods, brings out the divisions among the survivors who are grouped according to their kinship to the dead person, their degree of mourning and their responsibility for the rites.

PREPARATIONS BEFORE DEATH

In the period immediately preceding death there is even then a selection of certain relatives who will perform special duties towards the dying person. It is always the parents or children who take care of the sick person. Before death occurs, it is to the house of the parents or children that the patient is moved. The spouse is very attentive also, and the rest of the community show their interest by cooking in the hamlet of the sick person and by dis-

[4]However, one can never completely trust information gathered from hearsay only, and with no opportunity to observe the phenomenon itself.

[5]White control is responsible for the change.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more interdependent.

The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Maiom and Pinigindu.

The progress of European organizations has transformed the life of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *maligans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line, excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Lulusi and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

A large number of the apparently sterile women are very old. The usual reply to a question concerning the lack of children is that the bearing of children is a burden which interferes with the efficiency of women in garden and road work, or the oft repeated, "laze along push push", one suggesting deliberate abortion, and the other lack of desire.

APATHY.

We are dealing with a people who have been profoundly upset by the coming of European settlement, which during the first few years rudely interrupted local conditions of life, and practically withdrew the majority of able-bodied males and many females of reproductive age from the villages, and continued to drain the population of its best blood year after year. The old German methods of uniting the stocks meant, in effect, that bush people and coastal people were deprived of their racial and social individuality, and compelled to live more or less on one another's ground, thus perforce losing the very characteristics that make for group stability. By the land alienation that took place during these years, natives found themselves being gradually pushed into corners here and there by the ever-expanding European settlement. The road work and other uses to which the relatively few remaining able-bodied men were put left small time for gardening and other native occupations. On top of these disturbing influences came the Mission with its new cultures. Pressure was brought to bear on all practices having the slightest resemblance to European standards of immorality. The natives who led an active sexual life with more or less promiscuity, in which they were constantly stimulated by various dances that gave incentive to and opportunity for sexual expression, now heard that their most natural and spontaneous activities were things of which to be ashamed, unless regulated in accordance with the standards taught by the Mission. As a prominent headman said to me, "the romance, excitement, and adventure of sex have gone. Always the native teachers speak of it in church and school as a thing of shame. Before, men and women gratified their desires when and where they found them. Now, to go into the bush with your lover is to be publicly shamed. The Missions say to the people who are married, 'You must have more children', but how can there be children without sex life, and how can there be sex life without sex play. Our night dances are practically forbidden, romance and adventure now appear to be sins, and the boys and girls are ashamed, and have no desire ('laze along, push push').".

There is no doubt that in olden days the native ceremonial and social life stimulated considerable sexual freedom. In many places women were permitted to have lovers who were to a certain extent recognized socially, and who contributed payments to the husband.

3: Chinnery G,E-5 (1929) /1931/ OM10 New Ireland OM10

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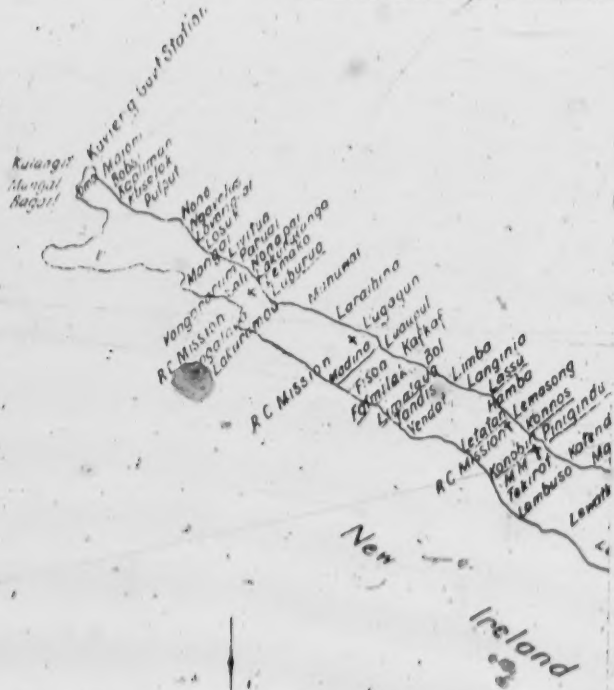

Sketch showing position of villages on the East Coast o
by E. W. P. Chinnery, Go

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3: Chinnery G,E-5 (1929) /1931/ OM10 New Ireland OM10

dated Territory, New Guinea, No. 6.

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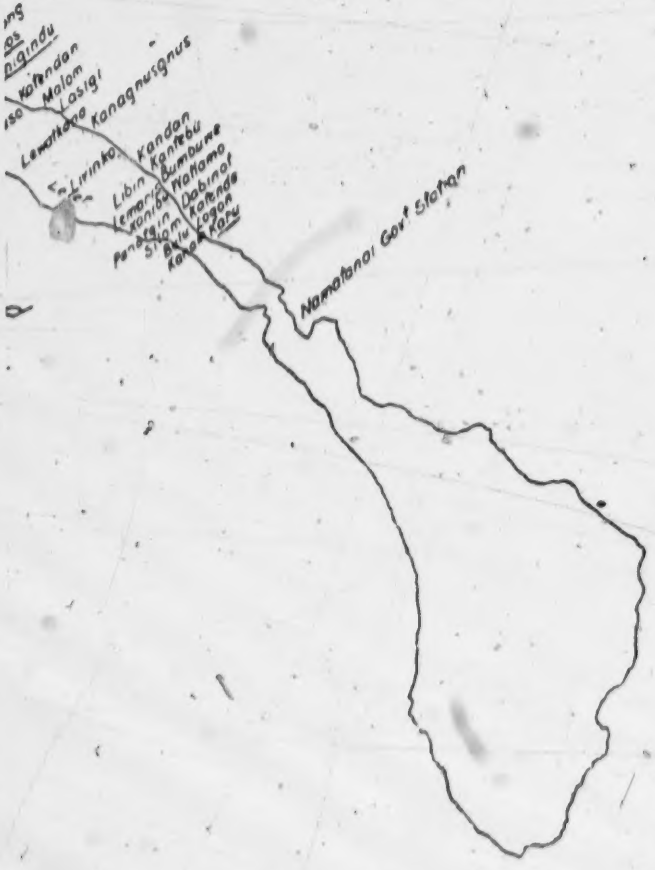

Coast of New Ireland, visited during Ethnological Survey
y, Government Anthropologist.

[p.52]

4: Powdermaker 5-6 (1929-1930)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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census are compared whenever possible to the results of this genealogical study of a smaller unit of the same people, for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the latter study.

ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS

Before presenting the tables it is pertinent to give a few ethnological facts related to the statistics. This group of Melanesians are an agricultural, matrilineal and matrilocal people, with exogamous moieties subdivided into clans. There is no scarcity of land, which is communally owned, and getting sufficient food is not difficult, although it requires a certain amount of industry. The diet is limited, taro being the staple food. This is supplemented by fish, pigs, yams, bananas, pawpaws, coconuts, etc.

Sexual customs have an important bearing on the statistics. A girl is usually married directly after her first menstruation. A man's preferred mate is the mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or the father's sister's daughter's daughter, and he is thus of a generation above his wife. While the preferred marriage quite frequently does not take place, the husband is almost always older than his wife, usually a difference of about five to ten years. The girl has had no sexual intercourse, although she has indulged in sexual play, but the man, being some years past puberty, has had sexual experience previous to the time of his marriage. There are no unmarried women. There may be a couple of young widows in the community, but it is just a question of time before they remarry. Both husband and wife have extra-marital intercourse and there is no social stigma in having lovers or mistresses. Rather, it is the correct thing to do. The husband of the mother is always the sociological father of her children. Until very recently it was quite usual for a man to have two wives and this had been the case with most of the married men of my community. It was relatively rare for a woman to have two husbands, although it did and still does happen occasionally. Missions have taught a monogamous system of marriage, with partial success. Polygamy still exists, but not to the same degree or extent as it did a generation ago. White contact has scarcely affected extra-marital intercourse. Should the village be close to a mission center (mine was not) love affairs would simply be carried on more surreptitiously,

4: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

psychological effect of this will be on the birth and death rates of future generations can be, at the moment, only a matter of conjecture.

It is thus necessary to point out that while these psychological factors may be of significance in accounting for a declining population, they are not present among this particular declining people. The adult women on whom this study was made have not been to mission schools and the effect of mission teaching on them is very superficial. The fundamental aspects of their culture have not been destroyed and they have not lost their interest in life.[33]

There is one factor, mentioned by Dr. Rivers but not stressed, which might tentatively be considered as a possible cause for the decline in population, and that is the introduction of the so-called "white man's diseases." While there are no medical records for the group of people on whom this study was made, there are some fragmentary medical records for the whole Mandated Territory of New Guinea, which includes New Ireland.[34] These are based on treatments in native nospitals at the European centers and the natives are mostly indentured laborers from all over the territory. The records can be used to indicate that certain diseases exist in the Territory, some of which appear more widespread than others. It is of interest to note here those that might have any influence on infant mortality.

The reports all mention tuberculosis as being rather widespread. We are told that "tuberculosis, pneumonia and other respiratory diseases cause approximately 50 per cent of all native deaths in Rabaul," and that these diseases are new among these native races.[35] In 1926-27 tuberculosis accounted for about 32 per cent of the total deaths of natives in the series under review.[36] In 1927-28, 103 cases of tuberculosis were treated in native hospitals, and these cases had a mortality rate of 33 per cent, accounting for 13 per cent of the total mortality of hospital cases.[37] In 1928-29, 57 per cent of all the native deaths occurring in native hospitals were due to tuberculosis, pneumonia and dysentery.[38]

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[33] In the writer's forthcoming book, the life of the society as it is functioning today will be described in detail. The contact of other cultures will not be neglected and an attempt will be made to evaluate the effect of this contact.

[34] Reports to the Council of the League of Nations on Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, *Canberra*.

[35] *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 17.

[36] *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 133.

[37] *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 89.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 26.